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ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUT
ABTEILUNG TEHERAN

BAND 27
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DIETRICH REIMER VERLAG BERLIN

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METAMORPHOSEN IRANISCHER DENKMÄLER

(Taf. 1-3)

„Siehst du diese Frau dort, sie ist eine gewisse Charlotte Corday und das andere ist Marat, ein Mann, der sie unterhielt und den sie in ihrer Badewanne ermordete. Man muß doch sagen, daß alle diese unterhaltenen Weiber Canaillen sind“. – Hippolyte Taine läßt einen französischen Soldaten dies zu seinem Kameraden sagen, während sie auf dem römischen Kapitol vor einer Judith mit dem Haupt des Holofernes stehen! und bemerkt dazu: „es handelt sich um Geschichte so wie sie wird, wenn sie in den Gehirnen des Volkes ausgearbeitet, verunstaltet und vergrößert wird“.

beschrieben², auf der der König die Göttersymbole mit ausgestrecktem Finger verehrt³. – Die Variante des Choirilos (ap. Athenaios XII 529f): „Ich wurde König, und während ich das Licht der Sonne schaute, trank, aß und liebte ich“, spielt sicher auf die Flügelsonne des Shamash an, die meist vor dem betenden Herrscher erscheint, dem seinerseits geopfert wird (z.B. Abb. 1).

Mißinterpretationen auf Grund politischer Voreingenommenheit – oder präziser: eines neuen, politischen Mythos und des Verlustes eines älteren – wären in Menge beizubringen. Ein bekanntes Beispiel der klassischen Welt ist der Bericht über das sogenannte Grabmal des Sardapalos in Anchiale bei Tarsus und in Ninus: Letzteres trage in assyrischen Zeichen die Aufforderung: „iß, trink und vergnüge Dich; denn alles Andere ist nicht *das* wert“ – womit er das Schnalzen mit den Fingern gemeint habe, das auf der Stele dargestellt gewesen sei (Aristobulos ap. Athenaios XII 530c, mit mehreren Varianten). Wie schon Ed. Meyer gesehen hat, wird hier eine typisch neuassyrische Siegesstèle

Solche „Lesungen“ von bereits unlesbar gewordenen Inschriften sind bei den Griechen nicht selten und manchmal viel näher an der Wahr-

¹ Reise in Italien. Übers. v. E. Hardt (Diederichs 1967) 141.

² Forschungen zur alten Geschichte I (1892) 203 ff.: die Vorbilder müssen eine Stele in Ninive („schnalzend“) und ein Bild mit gefalteten Händen in Anchiale („klatschend“) gewesen sein; F. Weißbach, RE II 2 (1920) 2436 ff.

³ B. Landsberger, Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft IV=FS. B. Meissner (1929) 294 ff.; M. I. Gruber, JNES 6, 1974, 73 ff.; U. Magen, Assyrische Königsdarstellungen – Aspekte der Herrschaft=BaF IX (1986) 45 ff.: der Gestus des „*ubana tarasu*“. – Auch das auf dem Denkmal in Anchiale beschriebene „Händeklatschen“ hat E. Meyer richtig gedeutet, wenn auch mit einem zu alten Beispiel illustriert; vgl. jetzt Magen ebd. 40 ff.: „König mit verstränkten Händen“ (vor Göttern).

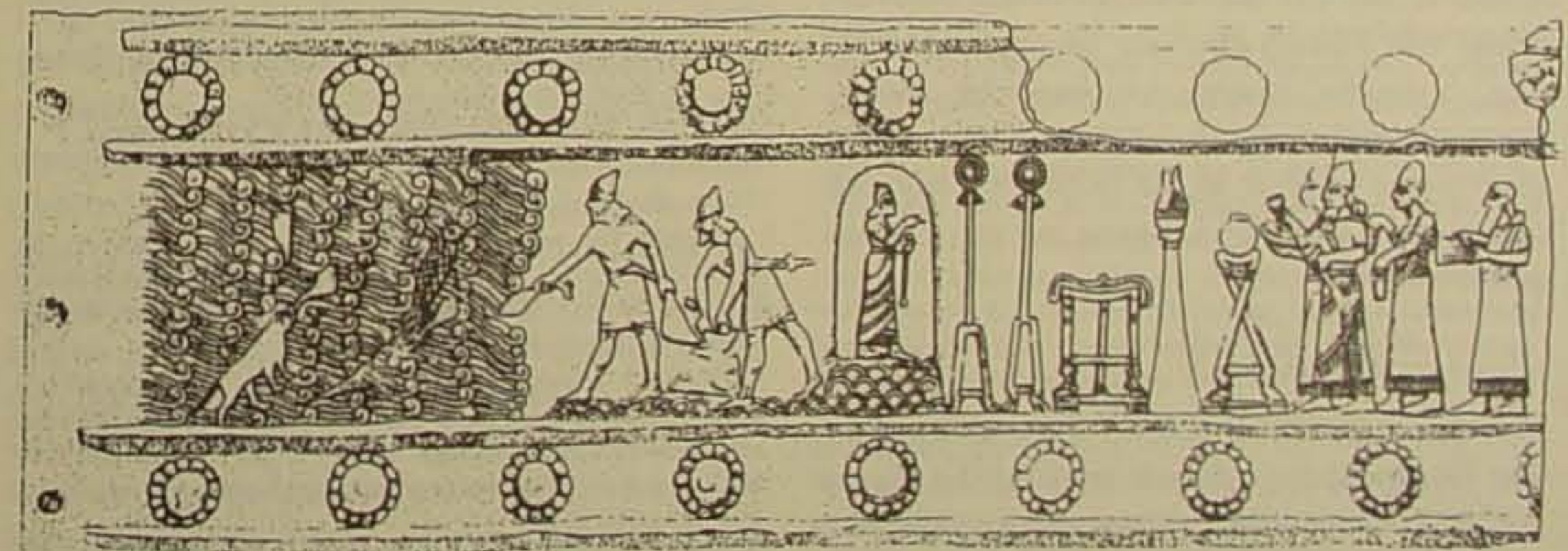


Abb. 1. Salmanassar III. mit zwei Priestern libiert vor einer Königsstèle und zwei Götterstandarten in der Nähe des Vansees (Magen³ 52 Taf. 8,1). – Von einem Bronzeband aus Balawat, Brit. Mus. – Zeichnung B. Seiß



Abb. 12. Neassyrisches Rollsiegel aus Toprakale, ausgestellt im Archäologischen Museum Ankara

wassertechnische Leistungen³⁵ von Urartu angeregt zu sein. Bei so viel angenommener Harmonie wirkt es allerdings befremdlich, daß Sanheribs mutmaßliche Mörder gerade nach Urartu geflohen sein sollen³⁶. Dies könnte bedeuten, daß die Männer entweder unschuldig waren und zu Rusa II. flohen, oder daß die Mörder zu den Feinden Rusas II. gingen³⁷.

Der Thron, wie er jetzt vor uns steht, mag zwar assyrische Anregungen widerspiegeln, bildet aber doch ein Werk, das in der urartäischen Vorstellungswelt wurzelt. Die Variationsbreite der Mischwesen, die durch immer neue Kombinationen einzelner Charakteristika entstehen, ist ein hervorstechendes Merkmal der urartäischen Kultur³⁸. Man vergleiche z.B. die Löwen-Rind-Mischwesen Nr. 1 (Taf. 6,3,4) und Nr. 4 (Taf. 10,1-4) miteinander. Die wesentlichen Elemente sind die gleichen: Kopf und Hinterbein vom Löwen und Vorderbeine vom Rind. Bei Nr. 1 wird durch die Rinderbehaarung der Brust, durch Rinderhörner und -ohren (zu ergänzen) der Rindercharakter, bei Nr. 4 aber durch Löwenmähe und -ohren der löwenhafte Charakter stärker betont.

Hier stehen die göttlichen Wesen, die in der niedrigen Funktion als Atlanten einen Sitz stützen, auf Tieren und Mischwesen, in einer Position also, die in Mesopotamien nur den höchsten Göttern, in Urartu aber fast allen anthropomorphen Gottheiten und Genien zukommt.

Die Gottheit³⁹, für die der Thron geschaffen war, thronte über mehreren Ebenen – Tiere und Pflanzen unten, vierfüßige Mischwesen darüber, dann anthropomorphe vergöttlichte Atlanten – und war oben von, wohl göttlichen, Höflingen flankiert. Wüßten wir mehr vom urartäischen Weltbild, verstünden wir auch diesen Aufbau besser.

³⁵ Sanherib: D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*=OIP 2 (1924); Rusa II.: F.W. König, *Handbuch der chaldäischen Inschriften*=AfO Beih. 8 (1933) Nr. 121, 126.

³⁶ S. Parpola in: B. Alster (Hrsg.), *Death in Mesopotamia*=XXVI^aRAI (1980) 171 ff.

³⁷ Über flüchtige Feinde eines Rusa berichtet Asarhaddon (Gbr. II, III 28 ff.; R. Borger, AfO Beih. 9 [1936] 106). Die Grabungsergebnisse in Bastam zeigen einerseits, daß die Festung am Ende der Regierung Rusas II. oder kurz danach zerstört wurde (S. Kroll, *IstMitt* 34, 1984, 151 ff.), die Siedlung zu Füßen aber unbehelligt blieb (S. Kroll in: W. Kleiss u.a., *Bastam II* [1988] 87 ff.), woraus man eher auf einen internen Aufstand als auf einen Überfall von äußeren Feinden schließen kann.

³⁸ Auf einem Gürtel (H.J. Kellner, *Gürtelbleche aus Urartu*=PBF XII 3 [1991] Nr. 39–42, 48) sind z.B. die Veränderungen an den Mischwesen seriell vorgenommen, indem in der Horizontalen Kopf und Schwanz, in der Vertikalen die Beine der Monster geändert werden, wodurch fast unendlich viele Kombinationen entstehen.

³⁹ Die Entscheidung, ob es sich um einen Götter- oder Königsthron handelt, kann nur mit Hilfe von Kriterien aus der assyrischen Ikonographie getroffen werden. Danach handelt es sich um einen Götterthron, weil der Königsthron nie von Mischwesen gestützt wird (P. Calmeyer, AMI NF. 6, 1973, 139).

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PERSEPOLIS AND THE AVESTA

For the better part of the seventies, I lived at Persepolis as its devoted custodian, and increasingly came to see its symbolism as the key to the understanding of the character and beliefs of its founder, Darius the Great. One noteworthy instance was the application of mystic numbers in Persepolitan elements.¹ Frequently, as I walked through the site, I recalled Leo Frobenius' explanation of the number as the symbolic expression of a distinct culture and "the direct evidence" for its character.² Coming from a family deeply observant of Iranian traditions, I had grown up well familiar with certain mystic numbers, particularly 3, 5 and 7.³ I realised, of course, that such numbers were held important, even sacred, by many nations. However, there were Persepolitan numbers directly linked with Indo-Iranian, and more specifically Zoroastrian, context. The purpose of this article is to examine the chief instances of such mystic numbers. It is best to give the Aryan context first, then proceed with specifically Zoroastrian examples, and finally, explain Persepolitan analogies.

I. ARYAN (=INDO-IRANIAN) NUMBERS

The Rig Veda alone provides the following figures:⁴ 3 worlds – heaven, sky, and earth – (often triplicated to 9) with 3 fires – one for each; 3 chief gods ruling each world; 3 acts in funerary rites; 3 forms of fire; 3 sacrificial deities; 3 heads of Vis'arūpa; 3 sacrificial fires; 3 animal sacrifices; 3 soma-tubs and 3 soma-pressings; 3 sons of Trita Āptya; 3 mothers of Rudra; 7 regions; 7-fold gods; 7 wives, or mothers, or sisters of Agni; 7-fold songs for Agni; 7 flames, rays, or tongues of Agni; 7 great demons; 7 horses of the sun; 7 steps necessary to conclude a marriage; the 9-member clan (Navagvas); 99-armed demon; 12 months of a year of 360 days (*Rig Veda* I 25 and 164); 33 gods (in 3 sets of

11 each); 16 (=7+9) persons necessary for the full soma ritual; 21-fold songs of soma; 7 or 3 × 7 stalks of darbha-grass used in rituals; and 7 layers, each with 3 bricks (=21) of a fire altar; 21 (=3 × 7) names of the Dawn as the mother of the cow.

Zoroastrian sources yield the following instances of symbolic numbers which, because of analogies within the Vedic sources, indicate high antiquity, going back to the Aryan period: the characteristic formula of 3 goods ("word, thought, and deed") is repeated 3 times; the soul passes through 3 heavens to Garōnmāna; 3 sons of Thraetaona (=Vedic Trita); 3-headed demon Aži Dahāka; 3 heavens, 3 intermediate spaces and 3 hells; Yama enlarging the earth by a third on 3 occasions; 7 Karšvars (worldregions); 7 Amēšaspeṇtas ("Bounteous Immortals" [who were guardians of the 7 creations]);

¹ Some observations have already appeared in my earlier publications, e.g.: *Persepolis Illustrated*, Tehran 1976, 69 (on symbolism of figure 100), *An Achaemenid symbol: II. Farnah (God-given) Fortune symbolised*, AMI 13, 1980, 123–26 and *Darius' 'Haft Kishvar'*, in: *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, Hrsg. v. H.M. Koch/D.N. MacKenzie AMI Erg.bd. X (Berlin 1983), 239–46 (on heptads). See further R.N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich 1984) 125 n. 145.

² Cited by W. Kierfel, *Zahlen und Farbensymbole*, Saeculum 12, 1961, 237.

³ Three wins in a contest (e.g., wrestling, vying for the hand of a maiden) brought you the prize, and three prayers recited every morning as you left the house saved you from demons of various kinds. A constantly heard expression was: *tā si nāli bāzī nāli* "not until three trials is the play over!" Besides the 3 daily prayers, the *Pan-jan* "The Five" (i.e., the Prophet and his kins) holy souls dominated our life. Every New Year's Day required a *haft-jin* a set of seven useful things (apple, garlic, green, etc.) the Persian names of which started with the letter *ṣ*, even though quite often they numbered much more! As the seventh child I was usually given seven new coins and seven coloured eggs on each Nowrūz.

⁴ The literature on the subject is vast. Apart from the art. cit. in n. 2, a summary, still authoritative, is provided by A.B. Keith, *Numbers (Aryan)*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* IX ed. by J. Hastings (New York 1953 ed.) 407–13.

9 days to pass after a death before the sacred fire is rekindled; the Chinvar Bridge becomes $(3 \times 3 =) 9$ spear-lengths or $(3 \times 3 \times 3 =) 27$ arrow-length wide for the pious; 9 bulls, 9 horses, 9 camels, and 9 of each male kind of animal for sacrifices (*Vendidad* XXII 20); 9 openings of the body; 9 (or 99,999) diseases; 99,999 *fravashis* (souls of departed fathers) guarding the sleeping Kresāspa; 16 ($= 7 + 9$) lands created by Ahuramazda; and 33 lords of rituals.

II. AVESTAN NUMBERS

The corpus of the Zoroastrian scripture, the Avesta, comprised 3 categories of texts, each divided into 7 *naski* "books" ($= 21$). The extant Yasnās contains (in accordance with what seems to be a later development⁵) 72 *bāts* (24 Gathic, namely the 17 Gathic *bāts* and 7 *Yasnā Haptan-gbaiti*, and 48 *bāts* of the other Yasnas); 24 sections (*kardā*) make up the *Vispered*, 21 hymns in praise of deities (the *Yashts*), and 21 chapters the *Vendidad* (*Videvdād*).⁶ This may be compared to a statement in the *Denkart* (VIII 45-3) according to which 21 leaders (*dastūrs*) guided the Zoroastrian community. Zoroaster's own hymns, the Gathas, reveal an intricate system of symbolic numbers: they are divided into 5 sets according to the metre in the following way:⁷

Name	Yasnā (=y) components	Stanzas	Verses	Syllables
I. <i>Abunavaiti</i>	Y 28	11	3	7+9
	Y 29	11	3	7+9
	Y 30	11	3	7+9
	Y 31	22	3	7+9
	Y 32	16	3	7+9
	Y 33	14	3	7+9
II. <i>Uttavaiti</i>	Y 34	15	3	7+9
	Y 43	16	3	4+7
	Y 44	20	3	4+7
	Y 45	11	3	4+7
III. <i>Spenta main-ya</i>	Y 46	19	3	4+7
	Y 47	6	4	4+7
	Y 48	12	4	4+7
	Y 49	12	4	4+7
IV. <i>Vahuxštra</i>	Y 50	11	4	4+7
	Y 51	22	3	7+7
V. <i>Vahitūti</i>	Y 52	9	2 short	5+7
			2 long	5+7+7

From the foregoing it is fair to conclude that:

1. The basic mystic numbers among the Aryans (=Indo-Iranians, particularly Zoroastrians) were 3 and 7; the rest were obtained through combination – either by multiplication (e.g., $3 \times 3 = 9$; $3 \times 7 = 21$; $3 \times 9 = 27$; 3×24 [on which see below] $= 72$), repetition of form (e.g., 11, 22, 33, 99,999), alteration of form by quantity (e.g., 12, 24, 248), or by addition of 1 (e.g., $3 + 1 = 4$; $3 + 3 + 3 + 1 = 10$ or $3[00] + 3[00] + 3[00] + 1[00] = 10[00]$).⁸
2. The sacred number of the Gathic texts (and of the sections of *Vispered*), 24, is extraordinary in its qualities: it is the multiplication of the first four in the ordinal numbers ($= 1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4$); it is the duplication in quantity ($= 2$ and 4); and it is the alteration in form (again 2 and 4).
3. The number of the extant Yasnās, 72, is clearly made up of triplication of 24 (cf. the division of the original Avesta into 24 Gathic Yasnas and two other categories of texts). Similarly, the "sacred girdle" (*Kusti*) that each Zoroastrian wears by passing it 3 times around the waist must be made up of 72 threads.⁹

Thus 21, 24, and 72 stand out as specifically sanctified Avestan numbers.

III. PERSEPOLITAN NUMBERS

We now turn to Persepolis, beginning with its grand entrance on the northwest. A monumental stairway of double reversed flights each with 111 steps leads to the Terrace Platform.¹⁰ That this is no accidental number is proved by two analogies in Darius' empire: the 111 stations

⁵ K.F. Geldner, *Awestaliteratur*. In: *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*. Hrsg. v. W. Geiger/E. Kuhn II (Strassburg 1896-1904) 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 26-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸ See also H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras nach dem Awesta dargestellt* (Tübingen 1930) 139.

⁹ Geldner⁵ 4.

¹⁰ E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* = OIP LXVIII (Chicago 1953) 64.

on the "Royal Road" from Sardis to Susa¹¹; and the 111 commanders of the Royal Guards (a chiliarch [*Hazārapatiš*], 10 captains and 100 decarchs)¹². In seeking the significance of the figure 111, we note that it is the characteristic Zoroastrian triplicity in form of 1 (as the frequently occurring Avestan 11 is a duplication); it is also the arithmetic triplication of 37 – itself a combination in form of the two holy numbers 3 and 7. That its symbolic use at Persepolis was intentional is proved by yet another detail. Each flight of the Terrace stairway is divided into two sections. The visitor ascends 63 steps, reaches a landing, turns twice and ascends another 48 steps to set foot on the Terrace Platform¹³. It will be seen that 63 not only is the multiplication of $3 \times 3 \times 7$ and of 3×21 , but also the duplication in form (in reverse order) of 3 and 6. Indeed, 48 is the result of doubling the holy figure 24 and of tripling 16 – the figure we saw as that of the lands created by Ahuramazda and of the syllables of each verse of the *Abunavaiti* *bāt*.

Let us now proceed through the site. Persepolis monuments provide many instances of symbolic numbers. There are 3 doorways of the "Gate of All Lands" and of the Central Palace "Tripylon"; 3 rows of sculptured figures adorn the Apadana friezes; 3 nobles stand on either side of the Great King on Darius' tomb (with him making up a total of 7 figures on the actual tomb façade)¹⁴; two antithetic groups of 9 soldiers are flanking an inscription on the Southern wall of the Southern portico of the Palace of Darius (Tachara); and 99 columns bore the roof of the hall 41 of the Treasury¹⁵. The Apadana (which duplicates an earlier palace at Susa) furnishes further symbolism. There are 3 porticos, each with 12 ($= 3 \times 4$) columns, and its central hall had $(6 \times 6 =) 36$ columns, bringing the

total of the Apadana columns to 72, exactly as 72 "chapters" make up the Yasnās, and 72 threads the "sacred girdle" of every Zoroastrian (for further use of the figures 7 and 72 see below). Furthermore, the west wing of the north stairway of the Apadana and the south wing of the eastern stairway were each adorned by 23 panels showing the representations of 23 subject nations bringing gifts to the Great King. (The Persians, who paid no tribute, are excluded here; with them the number of nations would have been 24.) Each delegation is introduced by an usher, bringing up the total figures carved on the west wing of the north stairway to 147, which at once affords the explanation of having resulted from $3 \times 7 \times 7$ or 3×21 . There were also 4 soldiers and 3 dignitaries accompanying the Great King and Crown prince – i.e., in all, 9 figures – on the "Treasury reliefs", which once adorned the centre of the

¹¹ Herodotus V 52. The problems of the "missing portions" of the road and the historical antecedents of the system need not be discussed here.

¹² Herodotus VII 81-3. On the *Hazārapatiš* see J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran I* (Göttingen 1896) 57; P.J. Junge, *Hazārapatiš*, *Klio* 33, 1940, 13-38; D.M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden 1977), 17f. A passage in the *Šāhnāma* of Firdawsi Ed. A. Nušina, Vol. IV (Moscow 1965) 17-18, implies a similar figure. There it is reported that, following his accession, Kay Xosrow reviewed his forces while his scribe read out the names of chiefs and paladins of noble clans from a royal registry:

First came the relatives of Kāvūs the king,
One hundred and ten commanders in number.
Their leader was Fariburz, son of Kāvūs
Who was the kin of the new sovereign.

One more member of the royal clan, Kay Xosrow's own brother, Farūd, was away (*ibid.* 34 ff.) and not counted here. The passage could mean that the warrior chiefs of the royal family numbered 111.

¹³ Schmidt¹⁰.

¹⁴ Shahbazi, *An Achaemenid...*, 125-6 endorsed by M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism II* (Leiden-Köln 1982) 93 n. 21.

¹⁵ Schmidt¹⁰ 178.

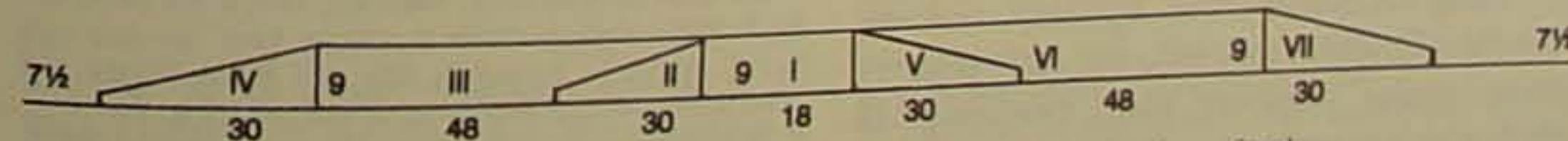


Fig. 1 Dimensions in Pft of the 7 constituents of the Apadana stairway façade

Apadana stairway façade.¹⁶ The parallelogram of the east wing of the north stairway and its replica on the north wing of the east stairway were each sculptured with 168 figures ($[43 + 28 + 21 =]$ 92 guardsmen, 12 staff-bearers, grooms and charioteers, and 64 nobles of the empire). It will be seen that 168 is the multiplication of the holy numbers 7×24 .

Let us take the investigation to another approach – using the linear measurement. The dimensions of the two stairways of the Apadana are given by Schmidt as follows:¹⁷

Eastern Stairway		Northern Stairway	
South wing . . .	27.24	West wing . . .	27.22
Center	27.133	Center	27.20
North wing . . .	27.11	East wing . . .	27.25
81.701 m.		81.67 m.	

The basic unit for the builders at Persepolis was a "P(ersepolitan) f(oo)t", calculated to have been 34.76 cm. A lower denomination was a P(ersepolitan) palm, equal to $1/4$ of a Pft.¹⁸ These units are employed for the dimensions of the Apadana stairways where each stair has a riser of one Ppalm and a tread of one Pft. M. Roaf's calculations, which rightly ignore small fractions in Schmidt's figures to adduce the round ones intended by the architects, show that the entire length of each stairway façade was 234 Pft.¹⁹ (note the increase in the sequence of the digits). This dimension equals 936 Ppalms, which is the sum of 72×13 . As the following diagram (Fig. 1) makes clear, the façade is made up of 7 constituent elements each with a dimension in exact Pft divisible by the figure 3. Furthermore, the central panel (which originally represented the "Audience reliefs" later transported to the Treasury) has a length of 72 Ppalms. And in the Apadana itself, the intended length of each portico as well as the length and width of the main hall was 174 Pft.²⁰ equal to the palindromic number 969 Ppalms (in reality it reached 700 Ppalms); and the Hundred Column Hall has, on each side, 11 intercolumnar distances each measuring 18 Pft.²¹, which is equal to 72 Ppalms.

Even Achaemenid inscriptions reveal a certain tendency toward symbolic numbers. The Old Persian version of the great Behistun inscription of Darius originally had four columns with 96 + 98 + 92 + 92 lines respectively. These make up a total of 378 lines – the result of $2 \times 3 \times 7 \times 9$. The first four inscriptions of Darius the Great at Persepolis (carved on a single slab on the south Terrace wall (=DP e, d, f, and g)) each contains 24 lines, recalling the 24 Gathic *hāts* and 24 *Vispred* sections (also note that $4 \times 24 = 96$, gives exactly the same number as that of the lines of the first Old Persian column of Behistun). The Old Persian inscription carved on the tomb of Darius the Great below his figure (=DNb) was originally in 49 lines²² ($= 7 \times 7$). That these figures were chosen at random seems improbable. Confirmation of intentional choice of symbolic numbers are also found in the fact that Darius, who had at least 12 sons and 5 daughters by several wives²³, prepared in his rock-cut tomb only three vaults, each with three cists²⁴ – a clear instance of "the characteristic Zoroastrian triplicity"²⁵. Similarly, despite a wholly decimal organization, Xerxes' army was commanded by six marshals²⁶ who with Hydarnes, chief of the "Immor-

¹⁶ Ibid. 162–69; A.B. Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and other sites of Fārs* (Rome 1972) 191–208; A.Sh. Shahbazi, *The 'Treasury Reliefs' once more*, AMI NF. 9, 1976, 151–56. Against the defense of the traditional attribution of the relief recently offered by H.M. Koch, *Einige Überlegungen zur Bauplanung in Persepolis* AMI 20, 1987, 134ff., see Shahbazi, *New Aspects of Persepolitan Studies*, II, forthcoming.

¹⁷ Schmidt¹⁰ 82.

¹⁸ M. Roaf, *Persepolis Metrology*, Iran 16, 1978, 68 n. 3 with reference also to G. Tilia.

¹⁹ Roaf¹⁸ 74.

²⁰ Ibid. 75 n. 9.

²¹ Ibid. 69 n. 3.

²² N. Sims-Williams, *The final paragraph of the tomb-inscription of Darius I (DNb 50–60): The Old Persian text in the light of an Aramaic version*, BSOAS 44, 1981, 1–7.

²³ See most recently A.Sh. Shahbazi, *Darius the Great*. In: *Encl. VII/1*, 1994, 42 Table 2.

²⁴ E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and other Monuments* (Chicago 1970) 80ff. with Fig. 31.

²⁵ Boyce¹⁴ 112.

²⁶ Herodotus VII 82.

als"²⁷, made up a heptade. We may also recall that six magnates flanked Darius on his tomb façade symbolizing a heptade in imitation of Seven Bounteous Immortals (Amēšaspentas) of Zoroastrian doctrine.²⁸ Similarly, the Persian empire was ruled by the Great King with the help of six magnates²⁹ so influential that Plato even thought they shared the rulership.³⁰ One more instance of such symbolic connection is provided by Herodotus according to whom Darius divided his empire into 20 tax-paying districts ("satrapies")³¹ but left Persis tax-free.³² This means that the empire was divided into 21 parts, exactly as the corpus of the Avestan text was divided into 21 *nasks* and the Zoroastrian community was, ideally, ruled by 21 leaders.

As a final piece of evidence we compare a personal invocation of Darius the Great with the holiest prayer in Zoroastrian texts. It is universally agreed that the most sacred formula of the Zoroastrians is the *Yaθā Ahū Vairyo* (or *Abuna Vairya > Abunvar*) – not merely a devotional invocation but one bestowing protection.³³ As Mary Boyce has stated,³⁴ this prayer has "come to be regarded as the most powerful single weapon which there is against the forces of evil, being used by Zoroastrians in this way as the Lord's Prayer has often been used by Christians. It is the first prayer learnt by a Zoroastrian in childhood, and it remains his recourse throughout life, for because of its sanctity it may be spoken at need in place of every other form of devotion". So sacred is this prayer that its 3 verses of 21 words each is said to have provided the example for dividing the entire Avesta into 3 categories of 21 books each.³⁵ Indeed, it is called the very "foundation" of the Good Religion.³⁶ Now, as I. Gershevitch has rightly emphasized, Darius' "most personal inscription . . . [where he] reveals his attitude towards his fellowmen and describes his mental and physical accomplishments", is the one on his tomb, originally carved in 49 lines (=DNb).³⁷ Its first five lines contain a statement in praise of Ahuramazda which

differs from the usual formula opening many other Old Persian text.³⁸ This personal vocation of Darius' faith parallels the *Yaθā Ahū Vairyo* prayer in that it, too, has 3 sentences and 21 words. We place the two one after another:

Zoroastrian formula ³⁹		
a. <i>yaθā</i> ¹	<i>ahū</i> ²	<i>vairyo</i> ³
<i>aθā</i> ⁴	<i>ratu</i> ⁵	<i>ašāfīti</i> ⁶
<i>bačā</i> ⁷		
b. <i>vanghəuš</i> ⁸	<i>daždā</i> ⁹	<i>mananghō</i> ¹⁰
<i>šyaoθananam</i> ¹¹	<i>anghəuš</i> ¹²	<i>mazdāi</i> ¹³
c. <i>āšaθramtā</i> ^{14–15}	<i>ahurāi</i> ¹⁶	<i>ā</i> ¹⁷
<i>yim</i> ¹⁸	<i>drəgubyo</i> ¹⁹	<i>dadāt</i> ²⁰
<i>vāstārem</i> ²¹		

"He (Ahura Mazda) is as much the desired Master (*abu-*) as the Judge (*ratu-*), according to Aša. (He is) the doer of the acts of good intention (*robu-manah-*), of life. To Mazda Ahura (is) the kingdom (*khšatbra-*), whom they have established as pastor for the poor."

²⁷ Ibid., VII 83.

²⁸ Shahbazi, AMI 13, 1980, 124–26; Boyce¹⁴ 113.

²⁹ Herodotus III 70, 84.

³⁰ Nomoi III 693 c, see further Shahbazi *Darius' 'Haft Kišvar'*, 243, 246; G. Ahn, *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im achämenidischen Iran = Acta Iranica 31* (Leiden-Louvain 1992) 270; in more detail P. Calmeyer, AMI 20, 1987, 133–40.

³¹ Herodotus III 89.

³² Ibid. III 97.

³³ See, with literature, M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism I* (Leiden-Köln 1975) 260f.; H. Humbach, *The Gathas of Zoroaster II* (Heidelberg 1991) 2ff.

³⁴ Boyce³³ 261.

³⁵ Dēnkard IX 2 (tr. E.W. West) = Pahlavi Texts IV, Ed. F.M. Müller (Oxford 1892, 173).

³⁶ Ibid., VIII 7, 6–7 (West, pp. 1–6).

³⁷ I. Gershevitch, *HdO*, Abt. I, Bd. IV, Abschn. 2, Lfg. 1 (Leiden 1968) 1–30 esp. 8. For the text see R.G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (New Haven 2nd ed. 1953), 138–9; see also above.

³⁸ This is to be translated: "The Great God is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created the happiness of man".

³⁹ Text from Ch. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1906) 126; translation from Boyce³³ 260f.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The evidence marshalled here shows that despite their use of the decimal system in imperial organizations, Darius and his successors consciously worked into their creations the mystic figures 3, 7, 9, 16, 21, 24, and 72. Since all these numbers were sacred constituents of the Avesta, the Achaemenid use of Zoroastrian models becomes highly probable.

⁴⁰ Text in Kent³⁷ 138; translation, with necessary alterations, based on *ibid.*

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"The Great God is Ahuramazda, who created this *frāša* ["magnificent and wonderful sight", cf. the Zoroastrian concept of *frāša-kart* "made glorious, hence, Paradise"] which is seen, who created the happiness of man, who bestowed wisdom and physical prowess upon King Darius."

The closeness in the form and nature of these two invocations seems to point to Darius' imitation of the Avesta's holiest prayer.

DER VIII. FELDZUG SARGONS II.*

Eine Untersuchung zu Politik und historischer Geographie des späten 8. Jhs.
v. Chr. (Teil 1)¹

Eine intensive Auseinandersetzung mit dem VIII. Feldzug Sargons II.² ist nur möglich auf dem Hintergrund von Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie des Zagros, denn der

§ §-Stamm
§t §t-Stamm
TS Temporalsatz
Vgl-S Vergleichssatz
VS Verbalsatz
ZS Zustandssatz

* Abkürzungsverzeichnis

Akk Akkusativ
Ann. Annalen
App Apposition
cs constructus
CsV Constructus-Verbindung
D D-Stamm
dO direktes Objekt
Dt Dt-Stamm
Dtn Dtn-Stamm
f feminin
FS Finalsatz
G G-Stamm
Gen Genitivus
Gt Gt-Stamm
Gtn Gtn-Stamm
HS Hauptsatz
ePP enklitisches Personalpronomen
Inf Infinitiv
Inf cs Infinitiv constructus
Inf-FS Infinitiv-Finalsatz
Inf-Gen Infinitiv-Genitivus
Inf-S Infinitiv-Satz
iO indirektes Objekt
KS Kausalsatz
Lok Lokativ
m maskulin
N N-Stamm
NS Nominalsatz
Nt Nt-Stamm
Ntn Ntn-Stamm
O Objekt
OS Objektsatz
P Person
pl. plural
PN Personennamen
Präp Präposition
Ptz Partizip
Ptz-S Partizipialsatz
RS Relativsatz
sg singular
St Stativ
St cs Status constructus
St-S Stativ-Satz
St-Vgl-S Stativ-Vergleichssatz

AB Assyriologische Bibliothek
ABL R.F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (London/Chicago 1892-1914)
Ann. Annalen
BaM Bagdader Mitteilungen
1 Chr. 1 Chronik (Buch des Alten Testaments)
Ez. Ezechiel (Buch des Alten Testaments)
Gn. Genesis (Buch des Alten Testaments)
ICC A.H. Layard, Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments (London 1851)
I-III H.-C. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, I-III (London 1861-1870)
KAH I L. Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts=WVDOG XVI (Leipzig 1911)
KAH II O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts=WVDOG XXXVII. 2 (Leipzig 1922)
KAV O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts=WVDOG XXXV (Leipzig 1920)
ND Nimrud Documents [Tafeln aus Nimrud/Kalḫū m. Grabungsnummern]
SAA State Archives of Assyria
STT O.-R. Gurney/J.-J. Finkelstein, The Sultantepe Tablets
TCL III F. Thureau-Dangin, Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. B.C.)=Musée du Louvre, département des antiquités orientales, Text cunéiformes III (Paris 1912)
VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VS I Vorderasiatische Schriftendkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin (Leipzig 1907)

¹ Die vorliegende Abhandlung stellt eine Zusammenfassung meiner im Sommer 1990 von der Philosophisch-historischen Fakultät der Berner Universität angenommenen Lizentiatsarbeit dar, die unter dem Titel „Der VIII. Feldzug Sargons II. von Assyrien. Eine Untersuchung zu Politik und historischer Geographie des späten 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.“ eingereicht wurde. An dieser Stelle möchte ich Herrn Prof. Wäfler für die unschätzbare Begleitung sowie für Korrekturen am Manuskript danken.

² QUELLEN: TCL III Tf. I-XXII; E. Weidner, Neue Bruchstücke des Berichtes über Sargons achten Feldzug,